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the young wife, her mother was the wife of a man then alive. She had two or three children who died. When the mother's husband died, Domingo took her as his wife, but this was after he had married her daughter" /cited in English/.

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A final obstacle to marriage is based on a sort of sponsorship namely, on the relationship of all adults to the candidates who have been entrusted to their special care in the čiexaus, the youth initiation. Their relationship is regarded as that of parents to their children, accompanied by certain rights or duties which never cease as long as one of the two parties is living.

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The community as a whole, especially the relatives, are vigilant regarding the valid obstacles to marriage; it is their duty to interfere if anyone dares to violate them. Infringements by individual persons in exceptional cases and more recently as a result of the unusual composition of the population cannot be avoided, since the public does not have effective measures of control and since the guilty party avoids the loud mockery and scornful gossip of his neighbors by keeping to himself. The erection of certain barriers in the form of real obstacles to marriage proves with unmistakable clarity how highly the Yamana regard the institution of marriage and the sound judgment they show in evaluating the meaning of their only social alliance. My questions about the possibility of a marital union between relatives and adopted persons obviously horrified them, and they found it unpleasant that such prohibitions, which are sacred and venerable to them, should be even casually mentioned.

8. The Marriage Ceremony

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In the foregoing pages we have described the development from the first slight amorous inclinations of two young hearts to their definite decision to marry, as well as the attitude of the relatives of the couple. The lovers never link themselves together in a definite, solemn declaration of their willingness to marry, as in the manner of our engagement. Nor do the Yamana know anything

/712 cont./

846 In contrast to the dutiful inactivity of the father immediately after the birth of the child is the industry that every young mother must pursue. The woman who is giving birth for the first time may permit herself some rest for a few hours, but after that she, too, must do what mothers of several children do automatically, namely, busy herself briskly and assiduously in her household. It is said: "That is good for mother and child!" For a few days she must be very reserved; she must act withdrawn and thoughtful, speak little, keep her eyes fixed to the ground when she walks, as though in mental concentration, and avoid visits to other huts. Older women anxiously watch over and care for a woman who has just had her first child so that she does not thoughtlessly offend against the ancient regulations and thus make her child unhappy. Other mothers, after a confinement late in life, are assisted in their daily work by their daughters. Even today, parents are very punctilious about observing the regulations pertaining to the first few days after confinement (138). During this time they are referred

138. Hahn (a):806 reports a few special details: "The Indians say that a throat ailment will kill the babies whose parents have not obeyed the laws of the 'gimbana.' If they eat crabs, the children will have a mouth inflammation (or something similar)" /translated from French/.

to by the designation given above (p. 508), yembéna, according to BD:649, "the state of having a young child or offspring /713/ (used specially of women and men, but also of animals), referring to the time when the child is weak and requires constant attention" /cited in English/. The Fuegians live in the firm conviction that all warnings and threats are sooner or later realized if the parents are guilty of transgressions against the existing rules of conduct.

•608 We have earlier (p. 500) emphasized clearly enough the difference between the actual midwife and what I call the adopted or foster mother. In August, 1923, Nelly and Mary told me in detail about this arrangement. Among the Yamana it is the custom that a woman who is a friend of the expectant mother takes charge

/713 cont./

608 of the little creature as though it were her child. The friend usually comes to the mother voluntarily and announces her wish; the pregnant woman sees to it that at her confinement an adopted mother has actually been agreed upon for the child. She need not be personally present at the birth, but she is almost never absent. Every newborn child, whether boy or girl, is without exception placed under the protection of a foster mother, adakutáruwaxípa. Her husband, known as adakutáruwa, likewise enters into a certain relationship to that child, but does not play a noteworthy part. We might best characterize the position and significance of the adakutáruwaxípa if we speak of her as the second mother of the child. She concerns herself with it and cares for it from the first day of its life, sometimes given the mother advice even before confinement, is helpful to her and the child, and attends both during and after the confinement. She follows the growth of the child with attentive devotion, visits it often, and sends it presents. As soon as it is old enough to understand, the child is taught to be obedient and devoted to its foster mother, just as to its own mother. The former even has, so to speak, more rights and influence than the latter. Her voice has much weight in important decisions. When the time approaches for the obligatory youth initiation, she makes the final decision; when her foster child is considering marriage, she, sometimes without the parents' knowledge, turns the scales. The relation of the foster mother to her ward is always intimate, and every woman is very much concerned with the duties she has voluntarily chosen.

608 736 By giving the child an adakutáruwaxípa, they doubtless wish to make his progress, training, and protection secure against any emergency. In Tierra del Fuego it occasionally happens that the dangerous way of life of the parents results in an accident, and they are killed before their children reach maturity. It is true that relatives must take care of orphans, no matter how many there are, and most families are large, but the institution we speak of, in which each child has its foster mother, offers ample security when a child is orphaned, no matter what happens (139). They do not

139. Martial:198 is without doubt referring to this when he says: "Sometimes the child is adopted at the moment of its birth by some

/713 cont./

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friend who acts as a sort of godmother, fulfilling this function very well" /translated from French/. Hyades (q):375 expresses himself more explicitly, saying that certain women "will later also be called 'mother' by the small children whom she helped bring into the world" /translated from French/.

let the same woman adopt several children of one mother.

608 The relationship between the two /714/ is never dissolved throughout their lifetimes. When the child is married, the foster mother continues to champion and help him. If the child has lost his parents, the foster mother lives nearby or even in the same hut. Not infrequently the adakutáruwaxípa assumes the sponsorship in the čiéxaus for her foster child, which still more closely links the two together.

4. Treatment of the Infant

854 851 Neighbors tell each other about the birth of a child as a joyous event. Some women hasten to the place out of curiosity and discuss the process in great detail with the mother; they like to give advice and are willing to perform any service. Above all, the parents themselves outdo each other in demonstrations of love for their child. All observers agree with Bridges (h):208 that "children are the object of tender concern" /translated from Spanish/. The father also loves to play with his little darling, and although he does not know how to be nearly as tender as his wife, he is not surpassed by her when it comes to sincerity and paternal happiness. Anxious about the welfare of the child, the father sometimes gives her advice about care and nourishment; occasionally both parents discuss the present condition of their child and its future. They circumspectly avoid everything that might harm it, and they guard it solicitously day and night. In general, the husband does not criticize the way his wife handles the baby, for he can rely on her; after all, she is well advised by neighbor women, and he follows

/852 cont./
X881 when the curtain once more hides the figure of Yetā̆ita, each pupil is asked: "Whom did you see?" Timidly he replies: "Yetā̆ita!" Then they say: "That was not Yetā̆ita himself; he is much more dangerous!"

In most recent times this apparition is often omitted for the sake of convenience; the old people view this as a sad indication of laxity in the čiēxaus program, which formerly was seriously carried out. At my first initiation the Yamana let the so-called Yetā̆ita appear out of consideration for me, and that is when I observed this performance. I did not see it again later.

γ. The Sponsors

X881 In quick succession all the candidates are brought to the
608 Great Hut on the same evening. After their reception each of them carries the fear of Yetā̆ita deep in his very bones. He is constantly reminded of it, for the person who first appeared to him in this form now sits next to him as his "sponsor." How else is one to designate the position and task of the man or woman to whom each uš̆wā̆ala is entrusted? /853/ Their task is to watch him continuously and never move from his side, day or night. In order that they may also pursue their other duties and participate in special performances in the Great Hut, they are regularly assigned in pairs to one uš̆wā̆ala. Thus it is possible for them to take turns in this service. A boy is given either two men or a man and a woman, a girl, on the other hand, almost always two women as sponsors (272). At my first and second initiation Chris

272. Lothrop (b):168 reports inaccurately about this arrangement when he writes: "Each candidate had three godparents, two of his own and one of the opposite sex." I never heard of three godparents for a candidate. Usually they are satisfied with a single sponsor for each candidate. Compare the list of participants on p. 692.

X881
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/853 cont./
and Gertie performed this service for me; Koppers had Santiago and his wife Adelheid as sponsors.

The uŝwā̂ala does not sit between his two sponsors (273), but

273. This principle can be very clearly seen in Fig. 83. I also observed this practice during my first initiation.

next to the one who is his chief sponsor. We have already mentioned that their task is to take particular care of their protégé. In this respect they replace, as it were, his or her parents (274)

274. We must point out that upon entry into the Great Hut parental influence on the children is interrupted (p. 640), and training by the community now takes its place.

with whom they are either related or well acquainted. They call their protégé an adopted or foster child, hē̂takuxē̂olan, also hē̂takumā̂kuxē̂olan. Soon after the struggle with the so-called Yetā̂ita, the sponsor begins his duties. He says to his protégé: "Sit right!" Immediately the latter assumes the sitting position prescribed for uŝwā̂ala. Then he says: "Always sit still, do not look around, do not talk, never laugh, remain composed," and so forth.

As soon as his word has achieved the external posture and bearing, he begins teaching him the goals of this celebration and threatens stern measures should he offend against the prevailing form. Finally he talks to him severely about vices, character faults, bad behavior, and negligence, which were recently observed in him or in some way attracted attention.

The sponsor also carefully supervises the handwork and exercises the uŝwā̂ala must do. Two or three times a day he paints the face of the latter and also concerns himself with his physical well-being, daily serving him small amounts of food and drink. For each sponsor it is a serious duty, and more than that, a matter of deep feeling, to observe his protégé so carefully and to influence him so decidedly that this initiation will be as fruitful as possible for him.

/853 cont./

X881 60 [582]

According to the ideas of our Yamana, this intimate contact between sponsor and candidate during the long weeks in the Great Hut brings about a kind of kinship connection between the two. It is /854/ most clearly expressed in the fact that the two may not marry. Let us imagine that a male uswáala occasionally has a female sponsor (275). For many years after the youth initiation

275. Besides a male sponsor, Koppers had a female sponsor and so did I, even twice, his was Adelheid, mine Gertie. That was by no means regarded as an exception.

every sponsor, male or female, not only has the right but also the duty to supervise closely the further conduct of his hétakuxéolan and, if necessary, remind him of the principles of that probationary period. Even the natural parents do not dare attempt such interference in the personal freedom of an adult, much less other people. The sponsor has a right to do it. The two are therefore intimately united throughout their lifetimes in a spiritual kinship; they are attentive to each other, visit each other, and give each other gifts.

Above all, a female sponsor concerns herself with maternal care for her protégé and attentively follows his later career. When I met my sponsor Gertie in Punta Remolino two years after my first initiation, she embraced me, beaming happily, and gave me a loud kiss on my forehead in the presence of the Indians and Whites who were standing around. To be concerned about one's aged and needy sponsors is a duty, just as much as it is for children toward their own parents.

The reception of the candidates and their assignment to their sponsors could also come under the heading of the more immediate preparations. In any case, everything is now taken care of so that the regular program of this long ceremony can begin.

3. Daily Program for the Candidates

X881

The long čiéxaus celebration proceeds according to unwritten laws. The old people faithfully preserve them in memory and each

/949 cont./

X881 into the adult circle. The čiexaus hut is thoroughly cleaned and decorated; the color on the ornamental plaques and sticks, as well as on the long leather strap, ükeša, is touched up; everyone present arranges his own ornaments and paints himself carefully. In the rear of the Great Hut a curtain of sea-lion skins is hung, just as on the occasion of visits (p. 821), and the candidates immediately seat themselves behind it. Soon afterwards, notified by the winefkeša, there is a gathering here of the people who had remained behind in the camp almost entirely throughout the čiexaus celebration. They, too, appear with extraordinarily beautiful facial painting and are equipped with the hapaxel and dance staff.

A particularly solemn moment is at hand. All the adults very gravely squat in their places, and the uninterrupted singing by some one person sounds noticeably moved. At the direction of the leader a middle-aged man goes behind the curtain and bids the

[535] ušwala to follow him. They arrange themselves in single file, headed by the man. With short, mincing steps, holding their dance staffs horizontally /950/ and lifting them up and down in a circular motion, they dance back and forth through the long hut several times. Meanwhile all the adults take part in the singing. Finally the row of youthful dancers stops in the middle of the rom. Their leader now accompanies one ušwala after another to his respective sponsor. The sponsor, without getting up, takes his hetakuxeolan by the hand, moves slightly to one side, and invites him to sit down beside him. This act is regarded as a formal presentation of the ward to his sponsor and as an adoption of the young people into the adult group. The ušwala is herewith declared a full-fledged mem-

[152] ber of the tribe. On this occasion everyone present is gripped with strong emotion. They cannot hold back tears of sentiment at the happiness of the sponsors and their adopted children. They quite rightly see in this solemn act the climax of the entire youth initiation, for in the latter, as we know, maturing young people are to

• [608] become full-fledged tribal associates. At the same time this also publicly and forever seals the spiritual kinship between the sponsors and their wards, hetakuxeolan. Occasionally at this time, but

[431] usually not until the great feast, the ward receives from his sponsor a special gift consisting of three items.

/952 cont./

X881 the uswáala, surrounded by their sponsors, also shuffle through the exit into the open. This is the informal but actual farewell to the čiéxaus hut.

Outside they all sit down beside the big fire, and soon small talk begins, quietly and in short sentences at first because they are no longer accustomed to a running conversation, then animatedly and joyfully excited. Everyone eagerly helps himself and enjoys the freshly roasted meat, although many a person who is excessively weakened endangers himself by overeating. As time goes on, the people mix more and more enthusiastically, for one seeks out another and wants to tell or ask about all kinds of things.

/953/ At this great dinner the candidates are required to serve older persons without pause. They offer first one and then another a freshly roasted piece of meat or a handful of mussels. They pass along the irregular rows of the company and distribute on all sides whatever they have in their hands. The adults are pleased with the industriousness of the uswáala and exchange /Fig. 87 appears here/ opinions about the success and the prospects of one or another. All the inmates of the dwellings who have not spent the night in the čiéxaus hut have, of course, also arrived beside the big fire. They are particularly affected by the sight of the emaciated and weak candidates; they discuss the many deprivations and the long fasting that the candidates have, after all, survived. The candidates cannot arouse themselves to fresh cheerfulness and unconstrained gaiety, for the trials which their weak bodies were obliged to endure for many long weeks were too difficult.

X881 The so-called sponsors are overjoyed, for during the long
•608 period of the čiéxaus trial they have successfully led their
431 hētakuxeolan to the goal. They talk a great deal with other adults
[445] about their protégé, and in detail with the parents. According to
ancient custom, they give their protégé the tube-shaped bird bone
X881 embalim (ēbelim), through which, day after day, he has sucked
608 sparse amounts of drinking water from a mussel shell. He also re-
431 ceives a rather short carved stick, about 12 centimeters long and
515 pointed at the end, with a shallow groove carved around the top. A tendon is wound around the groove and likewise around the upper end of the sucking tube, and both articles are joined with a string of tendon which is placed around the neck of the candidate (Fig. 87).

/953 cont./

881 He is always supposed to have on hand, above all, the little stick
608 of wood, tamiyáki, since he uses it to scratch the lice-bites on his
431 head. It is said that young people should regularly use this little
515 stick after their dismissal from the čiěxaus hut; if they used their fingernails, the latter would become brittle. If the tamiyaki is lost or wears out, the young fellow or girl can make one, if the sponsor does not happen to offer a new one. There is no definite limit as to the length of time the young people must use the little scratching stick; sooner or later, however, they simply ignore it.

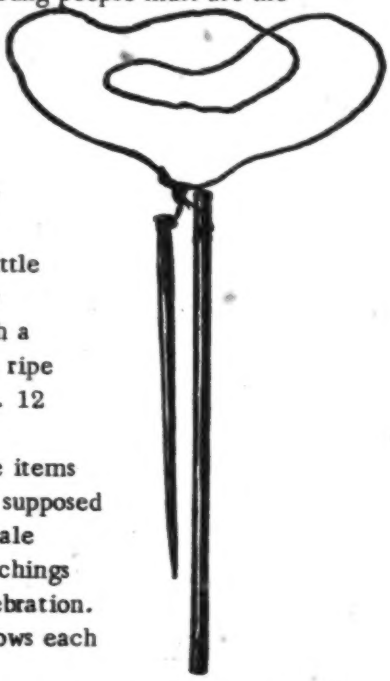

Fig. 87. Small Sucking Tube and Small Scratching Stick. One-half natural size.

881 /954/ A third and final
608 gift of less significance than
431 the two just mentioned, which only
415 the female sponsor presents to her hětakuxeglan, is a pretty, dainty little basket made of rushes and specially decorated along the upper edge with a wreath of feathers. It is filled with ripe berries of Pernettya mucronata (Fig. 12 /in untranslated portion/).

881 The ward receives these three items
608 as mementos. They are first of all supposed
431 to remind him of the male and female sponsors, but even more, of the teachings and admonitions of the čiěxaus celebration. With a certain pride the uswíala shows each of his acquaintances this certification of his successful initiation. Thus he publicly shows that he now lawfully belongs to the group of adults.

881 For hours the people squat around the fire and enjoy the
524 abundant meal. Gradually they feel a desire for games. Once a beginning has been made, one game follows another. Real

/1013 cont./

514 great care. This type of decoration, which is more or less com-
302 plicated, is used when a child appears before its parents, a bride-
groom before his bride, a woman before her intimate female
friend. Young people who have already gone through the čiéxaus
would not be permitted to present themselves before their sponsor
or their adoptive mother, adakutáruwaxípa, without this decora-
tion. Such negligence would be tantamount to an insult or con-
tempt. A person who hears that he will soon have the pleasure of
a visit quickly paints himself to show how pleased he is. If he has
not had time to do it, he paints himself in the presence of the
•[608] visitor. The sponsor loves to visit her protégé of the čiéxaus and paint
on his cheeks the lines customary for that occasion. All the neigh-
bors praise this evidence of the pair's great intimacy and joyfully
tell everyone: "She [the sponsor] painted him!" /1014/ He
must appear before her now and then with this design, just as
adults, according to the universal rule, are expected to appear
with painted decorations when repaying a visit.

514 Linked with this requirement to decorate oneself for visits
515 is the related one of physical cleanliness. Everyone at least re-
moves the worst dirt from his face and from hands and feet, ar-
ranges his hair, and puts on his cleanest back-cape. No one makes
great demands in this respect, but every visitor must at least show
that he has done a little something to appear clean. Naturally he
puts on his most precious ornaments. All this is to show that the
visitor esteems the one whom he visits.

514 Although the Yamana are unpretentious about physical
516 cleanliness (p. 28), they are remarkably strict with regard to their
natural functions. No one speaks of them. A person who wants
to relieve himself quietly leaves the circle of people and goes some
distance away. Two people would never do it close together; boys
who venture to do so and are observed must expect to have stones
thrown at them and be beaten. A person who has to go out at
night must not show annoyance at having to go far away from the
hut or he would be severely reproached. Children and young people
may not loudly break wind in the circle of older people; the
latter, however, are free to do so and reap smirks of approval.
516 Very loud and vigorous belching does not disturb anyone, nor do
515 the rasping clearing of the throat and the constant spitting. They
are always scratching their heads and all over the body to relieve